/117 cont./

197 had to manifest itself through the intermediary of Aymara. The Uro dialect of the Čipaya is thus an ailing language in the process of disappearing in the future that I believe to have saved from oblivion, if not in its entirety, at least to a great extent.

133 137 The territory. The physical envionment is that of the puna (Pl. VI, A /see p. 30 /) artificially altered by man. If one arrives in Chipaya coming from the north, one traverses for almost a day an uninterrupted succession of sand dunes, to which some tufts of long, hard gramineous plants (iču, Stipa ichu (Jarava) or the black, twisted stalks of tolas (Baccharis Lepidophyllum and other Compositae) cling. Once the dune area has been crossed the terrain becomes completely flat, and the rarer tolares alternate with the mossy swellings of yareta (Azorella). In places the vegetation disappears completely, but the most sterile parts are adorned with some Alpine flowers, which make imperceptible spots of color against the greyness of the ground. The Indians are [301] not disdainful of them. I remember having seen them gather [324] bunches of them during a festival to stick in their hair or to decorate [134] the images of saints. The aridity of this sandy soil manifests itself with an intensity which becomes more and more acute the closer one comes to Chipaya territory. The boundary is marked by the complete disappearance of the plants mentioned above and by the appearance of stunted grass, thinly sown, which hardly [311] reaches a few centimeters in height. These wretched pastures are 312 the product of human industry. The Čipaya obtain them thanks to a system of irrigation that would do honor to their spirit of enterprise were it not the necessary condition of their existence in this environment. Using canals, some of which are almost two meters deep and three meters across, they have diverted a part of the waters of the Lauca River and conducted it by secondary branches across the entire extent of their territory. During the rainy season and the period of great floods, they provoke inundations by raising a few dams here and there. The water fertilizes the sands of the

/119 cont./

133 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
182 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[52] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha, hiding it from sight.

136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus andinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
825 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[182] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
● [301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

/343 cont./

*796 them devotedly when the sacristan gave them to them. The latter
677 also distributed the small baked clay dishes which had contained the offering of tallow for the illumination of the church to all those who had come.

As if on signal all left the church, the functionaries leading. The two new alcaldes and their wives squatted down in the courtyard before the church, where the Indians came in turn to embrace them or to kiss their hands while bowing low.

692 The Corregidor, who took office the same day, placed himself at the door of his house behind a table on which he had placed the Bolivian civil code of 1831 beside a bouquet of pinks, two silver drinking cups, and a bottle of eau-de-vie. One after the
692 other all the members of the tribe without differentiation by sex
516 came to do homage to him.

They began by bringing the hand to the mouth, then, bending their knees, lightly touching either the book of the edge of the table with a timid gesture. Still keeping their suppliant and frightened mien, they stretched their arms toward the Corregidor and toward his wife as if to throw themselves at their knees. They
[273] next offered them alcohol in two twin drinking cups. /344/ The Corregidor returned the politeness and never consented to reach into the pouch of coca which was offered him without having his accepted in exchange.

An old woman who came late and could not find the Corregidor went to pay her respects to the stick of authority which the latter had left in his hut.

627 Meanwhile the Indians were joyfully dancing, led by the out-
535 going alcalde who was bizarrely accoutred for the occasion. He
[292] had knotted a white and black sling around his body, from which hung skeins of little strings which covered him to the knees. He
[301] had stuck flowers in his hat and tied on two large iris leaves, sold
824 at a high price by some passing Aymara, at the level of his forehead.
939 Brandishing his white banner, he led the troup of musicians and

/352 cont./

*796 The saints and mal'ku were requested with more insistence to grant the Čipaya a good year, without dry spells or frost, in the course of which the flocks would multiply. At a given moment [824] all left to gather little mountain flowers with which the men [301] decorated their hats and the women their braids. They also spread bouquets on the small tablecloths covered with coca. "The flowers bring luck," they replied to the question I put to them on this subject.

Shortly before sunset all those present knelt in a line before the chapel, whereupon the Officiant took the box containing Santiago /James/ and put it on the head of each of the faithful. He left it there during an entire prayer, doing the same for all, and did not proceed to the next person until the hoofs of Santiago's horse had been respectfully kissed. On the way back they stopped in front of every chapel as before to kneel, this time to the east. Several times I noted that before getting up again, the men, and more especially the women, touched the ground with the hand and then brought it to the mouth.

Espíritu Mamani put a pinch of copal or incense on the east side of the niche with which each oratory is provided.

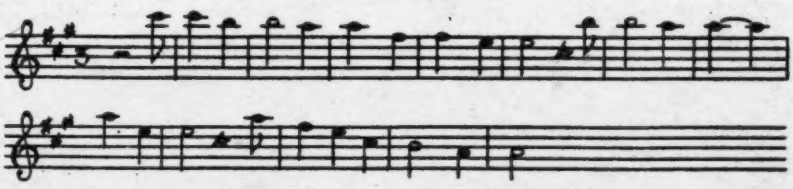
When the group arrived at the village it headed first toward the chapel of the saya tuanta and on their knees went around the cross placed near the threshold. They then reached the church, where they performed the same ceremony, accompanied with prayers and chants. The Officiant, who had armed himself with censers, put them under the noses of the faithful as if to make them inhale the fragrant smoke which was released from it.

[202] On the next day the saya was awakened by the beating of a drum as on the day before. All the inhabitants hastened to reach the surroundings of the alferez' house to take part in the feast that [264] the latter, aided by his relatives, had prepared. The women ate squatting in front of blankets on which various types of hash had been spread out. The men carried off their rations in the flaps of their poncho or their cape. When the feast was finished the

/379 cont./

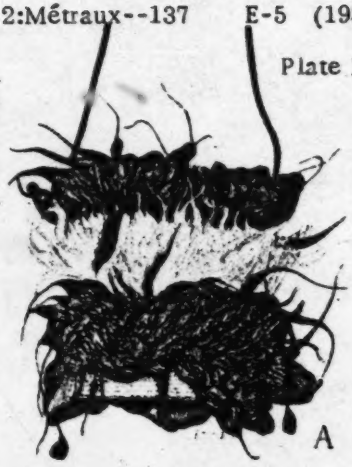
527 292 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [273] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 36, [554] B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

527 533 Tunes of the Carnival Dances



2:Métraux--137 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XVI



A

B

C

D

E

F

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.

B. – Festive sling.

C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.

D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).

E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.

F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

/172 cont./

291 To protect themselves from the rays of the sun the Čipaya women put /173/ /Figure 5 appears here/ /174/ a folded cloth (unkuña) on their head, which makes a sort of Neapolitan headgear for them. If it rains they tie it under the chin as do many European [53] peasant women. The small square of cloth is made of a fabric identical to the mantle; like the latter it is brown or black and bordered on two sides with a fine-striped white strip.

Style of Wearing the Hair

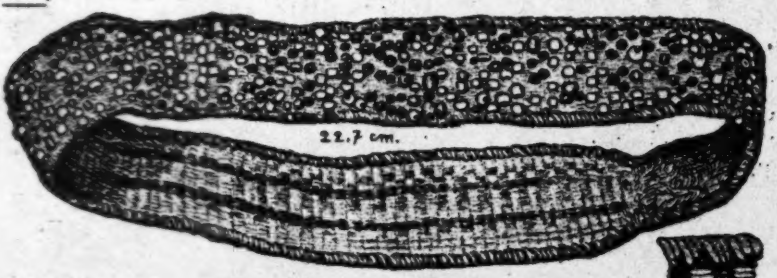
302 The men cut their hair in a circle all around the head. The women part it in about 60 small plaits (skuru) separated by a part and joined together in two bunches in the middle of the back (Pl. V, A, C /see p. 214/). They then make two large braids intermingled with woolen strings, the ends of which are tied to each 301 other by small strings. On these strings are hung small bronze pendants (laurake), the original type of which, still kept to this day, is a small statuette representing a woman with hands crossed on the breast (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/).

The women decorate their hair in addition with metal needles (kits, pāz-kits, kxola), the round, flat head of which is perforated with a hole from which a red wool string hangs (Fig. 5, D /see p. 163/). In former times, probably for festivals, they would encircle the forehead with a headband, of which I was able to acquire one last specimen reproduced here (Fig. 5, A). The glass [171] beads which spangle the surface are very old in appearance. The headband and spangles are two culture traits which are completely typical of Andean culture.

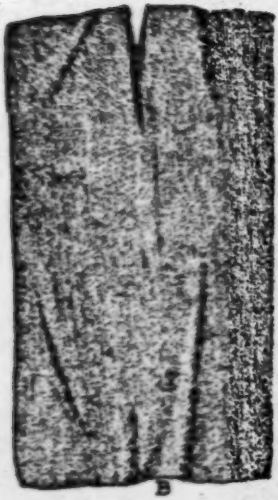
302 The women know no other toilette other than the care given [42] their hair. The evening before festivals those who feel the necessity [324] of redoing their plaits abandon themselves to the hands of a few [339] friends who begin by brushing their hair with a brush (kˣara) made of roots (Fig. 5, E) or pig bristles (Fig. 5, F), which they soak in rotten urine. [TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 164]

/173/

301



A



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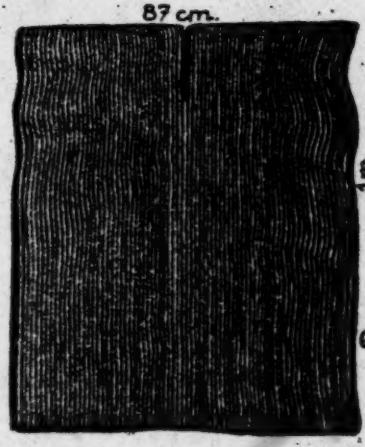

G

E

F

/See captions on next page./

/173 cont./

29
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824
134

Fig. 5. — Čipaya material culture. Clothing and accessories.

A: Diadem spangled with glass beads.
B: Woman's shirt of white wool (almil'a).
C: Cap of knitted wool (čul'u).
D: Pin (păz-kits) which the Čipaya women stick in their hair.
E: Hairbrush (kˣara or čaxraña) of roots.
F: Hairbrush of pig bristle.
G: Man's tunic (ira).

/187 cont./ With the exception of the
534 bamboo splinters placed against each tube, these syrinxes are very
[191] like the rather similar ones which have been discovered at Arica and also like the Panpipes used by the Indians of the area northeast of the Andes in our day.

As for the small syrinx with two tubes, it is too simple an instrument to be considered at great length. In any case, up to the present its equivalent has been found nowhere.

[192] /188/ Aymara influence and through its medium that of Europeans have been strongly exerted on their musical instruments, just as on the rest of their culture. This penetration can be very simply explained when one thinks that aside from tola, they have no other material out of which they could make a musical instrument, and that they are obliged to import those that they use for their festivals.

Objects for purely ceremonial use

796 There are a certain number of objects which I acquired among the Čipaya, whose use is purely ceremonial and which should be
[126] examined in a special chapter. These are, in the first place, the festive slings, several specimens of which I was able to get (1).

1. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, B.

These slings are passed over the wrist or carried crossed on the chest of individuals participating in the dances during great clan or tribal
[301 337] festivals. Another accessory of the Indians on these occasions is the wig made of horsehair (2).

2. Cf. Journal, Vol. XXVII, Pl. XVI, C.

/194 cont./

U
*171
A
342

the part where the sun appears, without any house having double rooms. The houses of the caciques and inns were long and square and the wood was brought from the Yungas." /Cited in Spanish./

U
*171
[113]
[114]

On some naive pictures in the book by Huaman Poma de Ayala, published by Montell, Dress and ornaments, p. 188, Fig. 86, one notices, in the background, some huts which a marginal note says to be "Inca depositories /cited in Spanish/." They seem to have a circular form and a domed roof.

U
571
621

The estancias of the Čipaya explain the formation of the small social units also called estancias, which are composed of several /195/ families which together constitute the ayl'u, or local clan of the present. We have no equivalent for this subdivision within the clan for the Inca period.

U
*171
312

Canals. The system of canals laid out by the Čipaya to fertilize their wretched grazing lands offers nothing special in a geographical area where man has lived for centuries practically solely thanks to his irrigation works.

U
*171
411
[30]
[178]

Weapons. The sling and bola are two weapons employed not only in the ancient Inca empire, but practically in all of western South America. The sling early became a decoration, often sumptuous, which was worn like a headband around the forehead.

U
[964]

Near Iscara, in the chullpares, I found bolas rolled around the wrist of some mummies, two of which are reproduced here (Fig. 4, D-E /see p. 157/).

/200 cont./

*191 because of the tripartite division of the hair on the skull (1)."
302

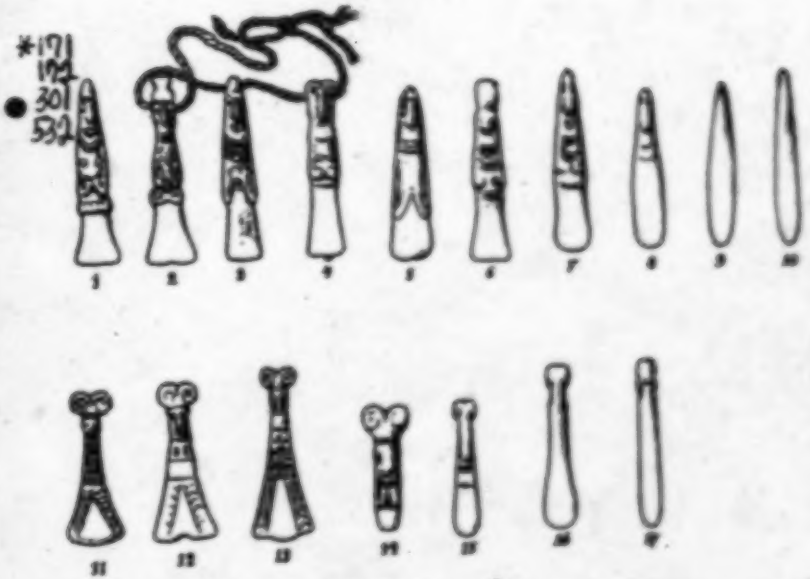

Fig. 14. — Evolution of the laurake from the original, entirely anthropomorphic prototype up to the modern, stylized forms. Each row represents a particular evolution. The laurake Nos. 8 to 10 and 15 to 17 are modern and come from Chipaya; the others were found in the excavations made in Tiahuanaco.

[113]

1. Alvarez (Angélica). "Ankcoccahua," Revista Universitaria, Cuzco, 15th year, No. 47, 1925, p. 18.

*191 Pendants identical to the Chipaya laurake have been found
193 in great number on the shores of Lake Titicaca in the Tiahuanaco
301 [i.e., a small pendant depicting a female personage — Author]

Carangas—
Chipaya

/200 cont./

region. Most of the specimens coming from here are rather similar to those of the Čipaya but more perfect in their workmanship. The features and the costume of the female figure are more easily distinguishable, and one can even observe that the hair style is made up of small plaits. These strange figurines have long been an enigma to the archaeologists: their use was revealed the day the Čipaya were discovered. Taking as a point of departure two slightly different types of old laurake, I have endeavored to indicate their morphological evolution and progressive degeneration (Fig. 14 /see p. 199/). Among the Čipaya the latter has been extended so far that in some cases small, simple metal plaques have been substituted for real laurake.

The Čipaya are the only Indians of the altiplano who have kept this archaic ornament. As they do not practice metallurgy I thought at first that the laurake worn by their wives were not only very old pieces but dated from pre-Columbian times. To verify this hypothesis I had a qualitative analysis made of two of these pendants and some examples coming from Tiahuanaco. The archaeological laurake are of copper alloyed with tin; one of the Čipaya specimens contains zinc as well. This composition is a certain indication of its post-Columbian origin. Unless we assume that the Čipaya formerly practiced metallurgy, which is highly improbable considering their habitat and way of life, we are forced to admit that they received these ornaments from the Aymara. But, as the use of these figurines must have disappeared very early among the latter Indians since no chronicler, not even Cobo, makes illusion to them, the Čipaya examples which were cast during the post-Columbian epoque must be very old nonetheless and have been passed down in the same family for many centuries.

The headband for the forehead, one last specimen of which I was able to obtain, was itself also an integral part of the ancient pre-Columbian costume. Among the Čipaya its wearing must have been reserved for festival days, for the manner in which the Čipaya women dress their hair renders this ornament useless; in contrast,

/200 cont./

it was indispensable to the Quichua women to hold back their flowing hair.

/201/ The spangling was a method of ornamentation which must formerly have been widely diffused on the altiplano, as the following passage from Cobo bears witness (1): "The cloth that they

1. Historia del nuevo mundo, Vol. IV, p. 206.

embroidered with Chaquira was held to be the most precious of all. This Chaquira were very fine little beads of gold and silver, and it was a wondrous thing to see how it was made; for the whole piece was decorated with these little beads, without the thread showing, in the manner of a very close netting." /Cited in Spanish./ Archaeology amply confirms the assertion of the chronicler.

The distribution of the root brush has been made by Nordenskiöld (2).

[113]

2. Nordenskiöld (Erland), "Analyse ethno-géographique de la culture matérielle de deux tribus du Gran Chaco /Ethno-geographic Analysis of the Material Culture of Two Tribes of the Gran Chaco/," Études d'ethnographie comparée, I. Paris, 1929, pp. 144-146.

This is one of the numerous South American culture traits which have equivalents in the north of this continent. "I have," he said, "hairbrushes from the Mataco, the Chorotí, the Ashluslay, and the Tapiété in my collection. These objects are also known among the Araukans /the Araucanians/, the Patagons /Patagonians/, the Peguenche /Pehuenche/, and the Taghans /Yahgan/. Lehmann-

Cayapa-
Colpaya

/201 cont./

Nitsche gives a drawing of an object from an excavation in the Jujuy puna which probably represents a hairbrush. The hairbrushes of the Chaveti, the Ashluslay, and the Mataco are made from the hair of armadillos. The Tapiete Indians use brushes made either of hair or of roots. They are also rather frequently made with branches or roots. It is interesting to ascertain that Uhle has found some of these hairbrushes in the excavations of very ancient tombs in Arica. He has also discovered some in the excavations, still older, of Pisagua, while in the more recent beds which he attributes to the Tiahuanaco period he has come across combs. The hairbrush is evidently one of the oldest signs of civilization in South America; it is presently more widespread in the southern part of this continent."

I shall complete Nordenskiöld's list by adding the Quichua and Aymara Indians of the altiplano who use both the brush and comb. There is not one stall in Peru or Bolivia where one cannot acquire both of these objects. The Quichua name for brush is uxuma.

The wig is a culture trait which, as archaeology reveals to us, has existed in Peru from remotest times. The Museum of Göteborg has several specimens which come from the Peruvian coast. This false hair is arranged in small plaits and hang from a /200/ string exactly as does the hair in the modern wigs of the Cayapa. Aside from Peru the wig has been discovered among the Jivaro, who perhaps borrowed it from the Andean civilizations, from that of Nazca in particular, with which they have so many features in common. In North America the wig is also no rare culture trait. The Handbook of American Indians assigns the following distribution to its: Crow, Assiniboin, Mandan, Mohave, Yuma, and Pueblo (1).

1. Izikowitz (K. G.). "Une coiffure d'apparat d'Ica /A Festive Headdress from Ica/." Revista del Instituto de etnologia de la Universidad nacional de Tucumán. Vol. II, entry 2a, 1932.

women. The hair is divided into innumerable tiny braids, each decorated with a small bit piece of bone, or a colorful bone bracelet that exactly like those found at Tiahuanaco.

Chipaya men wear a capiaco similar to the ojota used by various Indians in southern Bolivia. It resembles the skirt worn by the women, but is fuller because it is square. In former times it was the only garment worn by the men; trousers are a recent addition. Colorful decorated pouches are always slung from the belt. The short striped poncho is known as the Chipaya cape. The hair is cut short all the way around and is covered with a cap similar to the skulls of the Aymaras; the distinction lies in the broad ear flaps worn by the Aymaras in contrast to the smaller ones and the much finer cloth of the Chipaya caps.

Every Chipaya family owns at least one drum. These instruments are common in the altiplano, but the square shape of the Chipaya drum makes it unique. It is also [illegible] and about two inches in thickness. It is covered with [illegible] tanned llama skin, stretched over a wooden frame. This instrument is thought to be pre-Columbian, since its unusual construction is so dissimilar to that of the drum introduced by the Spaniards. The Chipayas make two kinds of flute. The straight Indian flute are generally made of bamboo, which is brought from other regions and becomes brittle very quickly in the dry climate here.

[illegible]

[illegible]

Tilden Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 s/f24 Uru 8/f24
Chipaya

[P 33-4]

Iru Itu

8: Fain T-5 (ca. 1954) 1955 SF24 Uru SF24

142
391
301
622

Fig. 9: The mayor of Iru Itu, who spoke fluent Spanish.

[p. 312]